

information bulletin

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

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information bulletin

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

information bulletin

W A R S A W

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(For materials on the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP, see the publication of the Polish Press Agency — mailed together with this issue of the Information Bulletin)

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS, NOVEMBER 26, 1962

Comrade Delegates:

In the name of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, I warmly greet the Trade Union Congress and, on this occasion, I convey to you cordial greetings for the six and half million trade union members represented by you and for all working people.

We all understand that the Trade Union Congress beginning today, the fifth in People's Poland, is an important event in the life of our country. In our People's State, whose leading force is the Polish United Workers' Party, in our Socialist system ruled by the working class and the working people, the trade unions are one of the main elements of the system, are one of the most important pillars of people's rule. This fact determines their role and tasks, which coincide in content with the aims and efforts of our Party and our Socialist state.

Our Party fully appreciates the importance of this congress and is paying great attention to it. The Party sees in the trade unions its faithful assistant and collaborator and always finds them so. Simultaneously, the trade unions find in the Party their guiding force; they find assistance and support in the fulfilment of the just demands put forth by the trade union movement in the interests of the construction of Socialism, in the interests of the working class. About a million Party

members in the ranks of the trade unions constitute their social-political and organizational backbone.

The strong support of the Party in the mass, autonomous trade unions is one of the most important sources of its strength, of its broad ties with the working masses; but on the other hand, the broad activity of Party members in all fields of labour and at all organizational levels of the trade unions contributes in a decisive way to the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the trade unions and to their fruitful activity.

The social function which the trade unions fulfil under the conditions of a Socialist system is expressed mainly in the fact that, in its activity, it unites the efforts of the unions with the efforts of the Party and the government for an unceasing increase in social production and in the national income. In this chief task of the trade unions is, at the same time, expressed their concern and struggle for better living conditions of the working class and all working people. For the standard of living of the working people is most closely connected with the volume of the social product turned out. The greater this product, the better is the standard of living of all workers and the entire nation.

The trade unions should also concern themselves with the just division of the national income produced. This division must take into account all essential needs of the state and nation, while the part of the national income which is directly designated as payments for the labour of those employed in the socialized economy should be divided during the period of Socialist construction in accordance with the principle: "to each according to his work."

In our country, the trade unions have broad rights and opportunities to fully carry out their fundamental tasks.

From the time that the People's State was formed, the trade union movement played an important role in the social,

political, and economic changes in the life of the country in all phases of Socialist construction.

With the active participation of the trade unions, the social and economic structure of Poland has been transformed, dozens of huge Socialist industrial centers have arisen, new branches of our industry, and together with it, new towns and settlements, new cultural, educational, and scientific centres have been developed. With an increase in productive capacity, the class and occupational structure of society has changed, the numbers of skilled workers, technicians, and engineers have grown rapidly. About 300,000 people have graduated from the universities and colleges in People's Poland. The number who have finished secondary vocational schools is over 600,000, and primary vocational schools — about 900,000, not counting hundreds of thousands of employees who have by other means obtained and improved their skills. During the last ten years, the number of engineers and technicians increased fourfold.

The trade unions have made a great contribution in bringing together new groups of workers and employees of our Socialist economy with the experienced and tempered ranks of the working class, in shaping Socialist consciousness among the personnel of entire enterprises, raising the vocational skills and the general cultural level of the working people, and in developing them into active and self-sacrificing builders of a new system.

As the Socialist economy expands, as the skills of the workers improve and their feelings of responsibility for better economic results of their enterprises increase, new forms of direct participation of the working people in the administration of socialized enterprises arise, enriching the content of Socialist democracy. The Workers' Self-Government is one such form which has been tested in practice during the past four years and its initiative and activity for the betterment of our economy

should be further enriched and receive the full attention of the trade unions.

The trade unions took an active part in the preparation and implementation of the programme for all the social services, benefits and rights of the workers. A major achievement is the system of social security financed entirely by the state. The number of insured has increased from about 3 million people before the war — when the insured themselves had to pay a considerable part of the insurance costs — to over 8 million people at present. For the insurance — pensions, family allowances, sickness and maternity benefits — the state at present allocates over 25,000 million zlotys annually, which is 6 per cent of the national income.

Medical care for the working people and their families is universal and free. Labour legislation ensures all workers considerably increased holidays, free time and leave for education, protection for working women and youth, and a three-month paid maternity leave. Over 25 per cent of the workers now receive in Poland a month's holiday, which is unequalled in the great majority of even the highly industrialized countries of the world.

From year to year, the expenditures by the state for the improvement in the conditions of labour safety and hygiene are increasing; in the period of the present Five-Year Plan about 27,000 million zlotys are being assigned for this purpose, i.e., over $\frac{1}{3}$ more than in the preceding five-year period.

The Social achievements, and all other expenditures by the state for education, culture, health, and rest, are clearly only part of those achievements which contribute to improvement of the material and cultural conditions of life of the working class and of all working people.

The main basis for the increase in the standard of living in our country is the increase in the direct income of the people

as a result of the increase in wages and constant increase in employment. During the last 12 years, the population of our country has increased from 25 million to 30.5 million in the present year, i.e., about 22 per cent. During this time, employment in the socialized economy increased from 4.9 to 7.9 million, i.e., about 61 per cent. As a result, there took place not only a flow of the surplus population from agriculture to other branches of the national economy but also an increase in the number of people employed in families living in the cities and towns, which together with an important increase in real wages has appreciably raised the average income per member of the family.

Against the background of wartime destruction, the rapid increase in Poland's population and increased employment outside of agriculture, the housing situation is still an acute social problem, especially in the cities and towns. However, in this sphere, we have notable achievements behind us. During the last 7 years over 700,000 families received new flats of high standard. Each year sees more and more new housing estates with extensive shopping, services, and social facilities which create cultured and healthy living conditions for the people. However, today we still cannot satisfy all the needs for essential housing. Many years of work are still necessary to solve this problem. In each sphere of life, there is also a steady increase in the different needs of the country and nation. We can satisfy them only in measure with the increase in the productive forces, in measure with the increase in the national income.

Thus far, through all the years of people's power, our economy, and particularly industrial production, has shown a highly dynamic development. Moreover, the first two years of the present Five-Year Plan have raised our industrial production by about 20 per cent in comparison with 1960, which means that the goals of the plan as regards the increase in total production

will be considerably over-fulfilled. But in the last period, there occurred a number of events unfavourable to our national economy which are now contributing to many difficulties and which are forcing us to decrease considerably the rate of increase in industrial production in the plan for 1963.

The difficulties in the economic development of our country occurred mainly as a result of insufficient agricultural production, as a result of insufficient expansion of exports and the faulty structure of our foreign trade with capitalist countries, as a result of excessive production costs in labour and materials, and finally, as a result of investment projects requiring greater expenditures than planned and delays in their completion. These difficulties and disproportions are partially the result of circumstances independent of us, such as the unusually unfavourable weather for the crops and price changes in Western foreign markets, which have been unfavourable for Poland. However, the main causes lie in weaknesses of our economic work. For a number of years, our economy has borne the burden of an insufficiency in grain to cover the needs of livestock breeding and an increase in livestock, which forces us to import an increasing amount of grain and fodder each year. In 1960, we imported over 2,100,000 tons of grain. In 1961, 2,500,000 tons, and the same amount this year.

This year, agricultural production is lower by about 7.8 per cent than the successful harvest of last year. Despite an increase in supplies of artificial fertilizer, high-grade seed, chemicals for plant protection and agricultural machinery, the weather led to a decrease in the grain harvest by nearly 2 quintals per hectare in comparison with last year. This year we harvested over 2 million tons of grain less than last year. At the same time, the potato harvest is lower than last year by 7.6 million tons, while the sugar-beet harvest is lower by 1.3 million tons. As a result, the disproportion between the fodder base and

livestock production is greater. For crops are 13 per cent lower this year in comparison with 1961, while the head of cattle increased by 4.6 per cent, and pigs by 1.4 per cent. It has thus become necessary to further increase grain imports next year to 2,850,000 tons, which places an additional burden on our trade balance as a result of huge expenditures in foreign currency.

During the years 1960-1963, total grain and fodder imports will be about 10 million tons, for which it is necessary to pay about 2,500 million foreign-exchange zlotys.

The insufficient development of our agriculture, especially of the fodder base, and the grain and fodder imports connected with it, considerably impedes the possibility of increasing industrial production and the development of other branches of the national economy. This fact not only places limits on imports of raw materials necessary for our industry, but also forces us to export, in order to obtain the means for additional purchases of grain and fodder, various materials necessary to us for our industrial production, especially metallurgical products, and in this way limits the possibility of an increase in production in manufacturing industries, especially in the machine industry.

The harvest of 1962, as well as our general level of agricultural production, indicates that our efforts up to the present time to raise the level of agricultural production have been insufficient.

The task of limiting imports of grain until they are completely eliminated must constitute one of the fundamental economic policies of the Party and government for the coming years. Without this, it is impossible to have a further increase in consumption of food products. In a situation in which the natural increase is very high, in which the proportion of food products in the structure of our consumption is greater than in the economically more highly developed countries, a situation in which every increase in income of lower- and medium-income

groups of the population is connected above all with an increase in consumption of meat and dairy products, the development of agricultural production is a basic condition for an increase in the standard of living.

The present comprehensive programme of agricultural investments and programme of supply of artificial fertilizers, chemicals for plant protection, agricultural machinery, etc., must be expanded still more. We are already planning that next year the increase in agricultural investments will far exceed the average increase in other spheres of investment in the national economy, including industry.

The rate of reducing grain and fodder imports depends in large measure on the rate of increase in production of those branches of industry which serve agriculture. The level of this production, both at present and planned for 1965, is highly inadequate. In order to accelerate the rate of increase in this production, in order to ensure a radical decrease in grain imports in the coming years, it is necessary to expand already in 1964-1965 the investment programme in those branches of industry above the goals of the Five-Year Plan, independently of the increased production goals and investments in those branches of industry in 1963.

There should be a broad review of the possibility of increasing investments in the machine and chemical industries serving the needs of agriculture at the cost of decreasing investments in other branches of the national economy.

In our agricultural policy, we should set the goal of achieving in the coming years 18-20 million tons of grain in our own agricultural production, i.e., about 3-5 million tons more than we achieve at the present time, and in accordance with this goal, to work out a programme of action. There is a huge production reserve in our agriculture, but without large invest-

ments, this reserve cannot be utilized to any considerable degree.

This is a problem whose solution is of the utmost urgency.

But today, much already depends on those sections of the working class which are employed in the chemical and machine industries and on the personnel of enterprises responsible for industrial construction. The completion of these projects according to plan and the opening on time of huge industrial plants supplying the means of production for agriculture, the utilization of reserves for an increase in production in these branches of industry, the modernization and improvement in the quality of machinery, implements, and chemical agents combined with the efforts of the peasants, workers, and agricultural specialists for increasing the yields and raising the technological level of agriculture, can appreciably raise the volume of crops produced by our agriculture.

*

The second major problem contributing to our economic difficulties is the relationship of prices in our trade with economically developed capitalist countries, which has worsened from year to year. I stress that this only concerns our trade with capitalist countries and results mainly from the structure of our exports to these countries. This phenomenon does not occur in our trade with countries of the Socialist camp, since on the basis of the 1957 mutual agreement, the prices of exported and imported goods are not subject to fluctuation and are maintained at the established level for 1958.

But even if the Socialist countries, within the framework of mutual trade, established new prices in the future close to the level of prices in the capitalist markets, it would not cause us any significant losses because of the different, more favour-

able structure of our trade with the Socialist countries as compared with our trade with the Western capitalist countries.

Our rapidly growing national economy requires increasing imports, primarily of raw materials which are either completely lacking in our country, for example, cotton, natural rubber, and other materials, or which are present in our soil, but which require large and long-range investments for their exploitation, such as copper deposits, or raw materials found only in insufficient quantities or under difficult geological conditions, such as iron ore, oil, potassium salts, and other raw materials. Moreover, there is increasing need for imports of different semi-manufactured goods and materials for our manufacturing industry and machines and equipment for capital investment projects, imports from cooperating suppliers, and various equipment, replacement parts, etc., independently of the already discussed imports of grain and fodder.

The great majority of the imports needed for our economy are satisfied in trade with the Socialist countries. These countries, similarly to ours, are also rapidly developing their economies and therefore have great need of the same products in which we lack and therefore are not in a state to fully cover our steadily growing import requirements. Moreover, we have not oriented our economy to isolation from capitalist markets; on the contrary, we have also planned the development of our trade with capitalist countries, which provide an important part of our imports.

The increased import needs must be covered by increased exports. In 1961, our imports from capitalist countries were 2,627 million foreign-exchange zlotys and our exports to them were 2,348 million foreign-exchange zlotys. Our unfavourable trade balance, that is, the increase in our indebtedness, is therefore 279 million foreign-exchange zlotys, or nearly 70 million dollars. Our exports, therefore, did not keep up with our

required imports, while our debts, especially short term ones, require rapid repayment and we can only repay with a surplus of exports over imports.

During the last six and a half years, i.e., from 1956 to the first half of this year, Poland's indebtedness to the capitalist countries in both short- and long-term credits greatly increased.

One of the most important factors in Poland's increased indebtedness to the capitalist countries is the loss we suffered as a result of the large drop in prices of commodities exported by us to capitalist markets. Of the total volume of commodities exported by us to economically developed capitalist countries, over 90 per cent are agricultural products, raw materials, production materials, and fuel. If we include less developed countries of the capitalist system, this percentage falls to 80 per cent. Figures show that the loss to our economy as a result of the fall in prices in the above-mentioned commodities exported to capitalist countries was about 297 million foreign-exchange zlotys in 1958, 378 million foreign-exchange zlotys in 1959, 486 million foreign-exchange zlotys in 1960, 611 million foreign-exchange zlotys in 1961, and during the first half-year of 1962, 357 million foreign-exchange zlotys. In 1957 alone, we had a profit of about 30 million foreign-exchange zlotys. These losses, which increase from year to year, reflect both the drop in prices and the considerable increase in the volume of exports embraced by these price changes, especially in agricultural and food products. In general, our loss as a result of the price drop in the above-mentioned range was nearly 2,100 million foreign-exchange zlotys. Thus, e.g., in relation to 1956, during the first half of this year, the average price obtained for exports to capitalist countries was lower by 57.3 per cent for coal, 52.1 per cent for sugar, 29.7 per cent for butter, 34.9 per cent for eggs, and 14.3 per cent for bacon.

The decline in prices also involved some raw materials and

production materials imported by us from capitalist countries. For the above-mentioned period, we gained by this price decline a sum of about 300 million foreign-exchange zlotys. This means that altogether in the years 1958 to 1961 and the first half of 1962, the loss from the drop in prices in our trade with capitalist countries was about 1800 million foreign-exchange zlotys, or 450 million dollars. As a result of the fall in prices and our export structure to capitalist countries, present imports from these countries cost us about 30 per cent more as compared with the cost in 1956. More than one third of our exports to capitalist markets are consumed at present by existing price differences.

What conclusions can we draw from this? The capitalist market is governed by its own laws. If supply exceeds demand, prices drop. We must seek the solution to this problem within our own economy, by improving it.

The main weakness in our exports to economically developed capitalist countries is the commodity structure. More than 50 per cent of the total volume of commodities exported to these countries during recent years are food and agricultural products. Export of these articles becomes less profitable each year and, moreover, opportunities to export these articles are increasingly narrowing in connection with the discriminatory price and trade policies which are already being conducted by the Western countries belonging to the so-called Common Market and which they intend to sharpen, especially in regard to the Socialist countries.

We must therefore radically change our export structure to highly industrialized capitalist countries. It is clear that a radical change cannot be made overnight. A longer time and a greater mobilization of all economic forces are necessary for this. In our exports to these countries, we must decrease the percentage of food and agricultural products and the least

profitable materials used for production in favour of an increase in the amount of machinery and machine equipment and a wide assortment of consumer goods. The more quickly we do this, the better our economy will be. Already today there are big opportunities for improving the present state of affairs. We only need suitable efforts both on the part of management and production workers and on the part of the personnel of the Foreign Trade Ministry.

An indication of these opportunities is the fact that our machine industry exports to highly industrialized capitalist countries barely 1 per cent of its final product. Can we not do more? We all know that there is sharp competition in the markets of these countries, but that still does not justify the very low percentage of exports of finished products in the machine industry. We can be a competitive force if the products of this industry are modern and of high quality.

Our industry can produce such goods,, at least of certain kinds, but it must produce them for export. If this is not done, we will be beaten on all fronts. But we can do it. We have good engineers, technicians, and workers; we have many industrial enterprises operating on a high technological level. We have many research institutes which can give valuable assistance to industry. We only require a profound understanding of the vital need for exports and the broadest initiative in this sphere.

Unfortunately, this understanding and this initiative are constantly on too small a scale both among the economic administration and among personnel of industrial plants and their organizations. Export production, requiring the most modern high-quality products, is frequently treated as a "Divine Punishment." Dozens of arguments are found to slough it off. This situation requires that the enterprises not only fulfil completely and on time all export production planned for and embraced in the production plan, but also that the management

and Workers' Self-Government in each enterprise should themselves show initiative in undertaking and extending export production after agreement with the foreign trade organizations on its assortment. The range of exports should be as broad as possible. Nearly every industrial enterprise can contribute to this and can find opportunities to undertake profitable, high-quality export production.

The central authorities are faced with the important task of drawing up an export programme for the coming years and of ensuring its fulfilment.

The effort to increase exports should be accompanied at the same time by an effort to increase constantly the production of domestic goods to replace imports from highly industrialized capitalist countries and to extend and deepen our economic cooperation with the Socialist countries. Many of our import needs, particularly capital goods, can be satisfied in the Socialist countries to a greater degree than hitherto. Frequently, this only involves ordering the needed investment equipment sufficiently in advance.

Economic cooperation with the Socialist countries ensures us real and profitable opportunities for expanding industry, for concentrating production, for specializing in production, for rapidly modernizing the goods, and for obtaining a high level of labour productivity. We have not fully taken advantage of these opportunities.

The conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which took place this past June, initiated a transition towards closer economic coordination of the economic development of the CMEA countries. At present, preparations are being made to organize on a broad scale an international Socialist division of labour through specializing and coordinating production and through harmonizing invest-

ment and production plans of all CMEA countries. This is an enormous task but, at the same time, it is the only way in which all smaller Socialist countries, including Poland, can ensure themselves a perspective of permanent growth.

The present economic situation and the prospects for 1963 also reflect the incomplete fulfilment of the goal of reducing production costs. In the Five-Year Plan, we envisaged an annual average decrease in the cost of industrial production of 1.7 per cent. Actually, in 1961, we lowered costs only by 1.2 per cent and, in 1962, we expect the costs to be lowered only by 0.5 per cent. These percentages appear small, but in actual numerical terms, they represent enormous sums which limit the possibilities of an increase in production and an increase in real wages.

The expected reduction in the level of production costs in 1962 will be 0.5 as against the planned 1.3 per cent, which means excessive production costs and decrease in accumulation by about 4,000 million zlotys.

As far as reduction of costs of materials is concerned, there is no lack of examples of greater reductions than those planned for: the coal mining industry decreased the use of explosive materials and steel pipes per ton of extracted coal to an extent greater than was planned, coking plants now use less coal in the production of 1 ton of coke, the chemical industry lowered the use of raw materials in the production of sulphuric acid, etc.

Unfortunately, negative examples are considerably more abundant and the general state of the materials economy is one of the most neglected areas of our economy.

The main sources of savings in materials lie in the design offices and in improvements in the use of new materials and semi-finished products, as a result of which the finished

products can be considerably lighter and less costly to manufacture.

In this area, our progress is completely insufficient and, frequently, we are up against sheer sluggishness. This concerns, for example, construction in which the unwillingness of the engineers to use more economical and modern designs contributes to wasting materials in the heavy frames used in housing and industrial construction.

A basic cause of the scanty progress in industry and construction, in the saving of raw materials, semi-finished products, fuel and energy, is insufficient implementation of the programme for technological progress and mastery of the technology of economical production processes. Of course, this depends to a great extent on implementation of investment plans in the sphere of modernizing the existing machine plant, on the proper specialization in production, and, connected with it, the concentration of production in individual enterprises.

Of equally utmost importance is the need to ensure that no enterprise be without a plan for lowering the costs of materials. These plans must be based on an analysis of standards on the use of materials, on the possibilities of replacing more expensive raw materials by cheaper ones, imported by domestic materials, on a check of materials used in all phases of the production process, and a review of other important organizational and technological factors.

Economy in the use of materials is connected with the extremely important problem of surplus inventories of materials and manufactured products.

Plans with regard to inventories have been exceeded for many years without sufficient justification. The thousands of millions of zlotys frozen in inventories draw away from the economy a valuable volume of frequently imported raw materials and semi-finished products, and absorb wage funds

expended in producing goods which cannot be used immediately in production or for which there is no demand.

The question of production costs and the question of inventories are also not yet subject to the systematic penetrating activities of the Workers' Self-Government and workers' councils. This is a sign of the still weak interest in economic progress on the part of people elected and called upon to organize and unite the efforts of personnel around the most important questions of production. Proper discussion at Workers' Self-Government conferences ending with concrete proposals and organizing activity in the enterprises, is usually made difficult by the presentation of the problem of costs without indications of concrete directions, methods, and means to lower costs. Thus far, only a small number of enterprises work out and present to the plant personnel an analysis of costs in comparison with similar enterprises and with the dynamics of changes, and, above all, the specific directions in which the attention of the personnel should be concentrated.

The second major sphere in which the expected level of costs has been exceeded is in that of labour costs.

In nearly all branches of the national economy, the increase in employment during the first two years of the present Five-Year Plan has greatly exceeded the planned level.

The increase in employment in the entire socialized economy, in accordance with the plan, should have been 263,000 in 1961-1962. The increase during this time will actually be 500,000 or almost twice as great. Industry is responsible for the employment of 108,000 people in excess of the planned figure. True, industrial production will increase during these two years by about 3 per cent above the plan, but this justifies only a small portion of the increase in employment. During the last two years there has been a distortion of the ratio between the increase in employment and labour productivity. The contribu-

tion of labour productivity to the increase in production will be about 66 per cent during these two years instead of 81 per cent envisaged in the Five-Year Plan, while the increase in employment will be 34 per cent instead of 19 per cent.

Similarly, a highly disturbing feature has also been noted in the building industry in which the increase in employment will be 63,000 instead of 33,000. This rise in employment beyond the planned figure is frequently justified by the increase in construction during this period; however, the main source of this increase in employment lies in an insufficient rise in labour productivity resulting from the inability to utilize fully the building machinery and equipment and from the chronic shortcomings in the organization of construction work.

Employment in excess of the plan also occurred in transport, in municipal services, in education, in culture, in the health service, in non-industrial services, and to a somewhat lesser degree, in other spheres, for a combined total of over 100,000 people.

As a result of this additional increase in employment, during this year alone we are spending 5,500 million zlotys. If fulfilment of the goals for production and services was achieved through a greater increase in labour productivity and better organization of work, then most of this sum could be used for the planned improvement in average real wages. Meanwhile, the excess in the wage fund above the plan increased the total income of the working people, but not through a faster increase in average wages but through the additional number of people employed.

Of key importance in changing the unfavourable ratio between the increase in employment and the increase in labour productivity is technological and organizational progress.

The carrying out of the decisions adopted on this subject by the Central Committee of the Party is undergoing a distinct

delay, although the question of technological progress has a basic influence not only on a rise in labour productivity but also on achieving savings in materials, and on an appreciable improvement in the quality of production. The basic tasks connected with the production of new types of goods and the application of new techniques are generally being carried out with serious delays. The results obtained thus far in the development of industrial technology although valuable for the national economy are, however, far insufficient in comparison with world progress and with the magnitude of our needs.

Comrades,

Our Party, as usual, does not hide the truth; it presents it here at the Trade Union Congress; it presents the actual situation in our national economy, the difficulties which we must overcome for its development. We say openly to the working class, to the trade unions, and to the Workers' Self-Government: only more efficient work, savings in the use of materials and funds, elimination of waste in every enterprise and at every worker's bench, only through better organization of the economy and lowering of production costs can we create conditions for making possible a further increase in real wages. It is the primary task of the trade unions and the Workers' Self-Government to set in motion all social forces, to activize all the workers in the struggle for better economic results. We are also conscious of the fact that the overcoming of the basic economic difficulties in a serious manner, depends on the elimination of a number of basic weaknesses in management of the economy and in the work of planning bodies at every level.

We cannot solve the problems of life with slogans and generalities. That is why trade union work in the Workers' Self-Government should be much more specific.

At the 9th and 10th Plenums of the CC, the Party once again confirmed its great confidence in the Workers' Self-Government and the important role it plays in economic life. However, the recognition and authority of the Workers' Self-Government and of the leaders of the workers' councils are closely connected with their activity, with their daily concern for their enterprises, for the utilization of all existing possibilities for improving economic results of their enterprises. At the same time, the Workers' Self-Government has the right and obligation to carry out a critical review of plans, to take a critical attitude towards tasks which have no chance of realization. We cannot agree to let the Workers' Self-Government lower targets which are possible of realization, even though they are frequently difficult, but correct criticism by the Workers' Self-Government in regard to erroneous or improperly worked out targets must be thoroughly analyzed.

Co-management of an enterprise is a specific task; it is a responsibility for the production and economic results of the enterprise, for labour productivity, for savings in raw materials, for the fulfilment of export tasks, for good quality in production, for labour discipline, and for continuously raising the consciousness of the workers.

The authority of the Workers' Self-Government will depend on the manner in which it solves these fundamental problems.

Comrades,

The proper harmonious development of the entire national economy depends above all on the correct ratio of the division of investment funds in its different branches. A closer analysis of our investment programme embodied in the Five-Year Plan showed that, in connection with the present disposition of economic forces in the world and the disclosure of an underestimation of the cost of a number of important, already-

realized investment projects, we should regroup our means of investment and make certain changes in our investment programme for 1963-1965.

In some areas of our investment activity, it proved necessary to increase outlays at the expense of other branches of the national economy; some planned investment projects were cancelled and new and better ones, more necessary for our economy, were or will be undertaken in their place; while other, less important or less urgent projects have been put off for later years. This regrouping of the means of investment embraced a sum exceeding 60,000 million zlotys out of a total sum of limited investments of 327,000 million zlotys in the socialized economy, as envisaged in the plan for 1963-1965. However, it turned out to be necessary to raise these investments by about 11,000 million zlotys in these three years. In order to ensure that the most important aims of economic growth are fulfilled in the current five-year period, independently of changes in outlays for heavy industry, we had to resort to curtailment of previously planned investment outlays in other spheres, such as light industry, food industry, trade, water resources, municipal services, transport, and health services. A decrease in the investment programme in these fields must be made for the sake of the basic interests of our country, for the sake of establishing a production base that will provide an increase in the national income.

In line with this, we should show greater energy in using all opportunities for a more rapid, more effective and less expensive implementation of the investment programme. This programme retains an unchanged sum for housing construction, while it increases the outlay for school construction and agriculture. The leadership of the Party and government recognized that curtailments in these spheres of investment outlay would very quickly be reflected in the degree of satisfaction of the

immediate needs of society and came to the conclusion that these fields should be given particular care, despite increase in expensive, long-range production investment projects.

In its present form, the investment programme is considerably more realistic and considerably more adapted to the possibilities of construction enterprises, to supplies of machinery and equipment from domestic production and imports. At the same time, this programme is more effective than the one initially worked out since it creates better conditions for concentrating investment outlays and reducing the investment cycle.

Changes in the five-year investment plan will require adaptation of the investment plans in a number of branches of the national economy and in individual enterprises to the new tasks. In order that this question should not be treated purely administratively, in order that an estimate be made in connection with this of the possible realization dates of the investment projects from the beginning of 1963 on, the Workers' Self-Government Conferences should investigate ways and means for the efficient fulfilment of the individual stages of the central investment projects. The question of lowering the cost of construction materials merits the particular attention of the Workers' Self-Government Conferences since the possibility of realizing our programme depends on this to a great degree.

The trade unions and the Workers' Self-Government should carry out an analysis of the causes of the failure to assemble and put into operation, in time, machinery and equipment at construction sites and in factories. Capital goods frozen in this manner should be set in motion most rapidly and placed at the service of production.

A great field of activity for the trade unions and the Workers' Self-Government in construction enterprises is the unusually important question of introducing a two-shift work system at construction sites. Many countries are using this method since

it contributes to a considerable shortening of construction time and to a better utilization of equipment and to raising the effectiveness of sums expended on investment projects.

With our one-shift system in the buiding trades, the construction equipment, whose lack we continually feel, is very poorly utilized, sometimes only 4-6 hours per day. This is economic wastefulness. With a two-shift work system, the exploitation of this equipment can be considerably increased. The management of these enterprises, together with the appropriate organs of the building trade unions, should already proceed to working out a programme and the organization of work at construction sites on a two-shift system in order to introduce it by the spring of next year. This system can be used at every construction site for at least six months of the year. In areas where there are difficulties because of seasonal workers, this system will be better because by working on a two-shift system, we can concentrate the people on a narrower labour front rather than construct a large number of investment projects with work on a one-shift system.

Comrades,

In a few days, the government bills on the National Economic Plan and the state budget for 1963 will be discussed by the Seym. Both bills take into account the necessary changes for this year in regard to the Five-Year Plan. These changes result from the actual realization of the goals of the Five-Year Plan up to the present, from our estimate of the actual possibilities and difficulties. Because of the aforementioned situation in foreign trade and in the possibility of supplies of raw materials connected with it, because of the unfavourable results in agriculture in the present year, because of insufficient improvement in investment activity, because of poor results thus far

in the reduction of production costs and because of a faulty inventory policy, we will be forced to reduce the rate of increase in industrial production in 1963.

According to the draft plan, total industrial production will increase only by 5 per cent over this year. There will also be a marked increase in employment, both in industry, although not in every branch, and in the entire socialized economy, which will be accompanied by an increase in the wage fund.

An increase in the total wage fund will also take place as a result of an increase in labour productivity in production and construction enterprises and overfulfilment of the labour norms and also by overfulfilling the investment tasks in construction and production tasks in those branches of industry which supply raw materials for industrial manufactures. Opportunities for increasing production plans in other spheres of industry will be limited by the supply of raw materials and other production supplies.

We also envisage a certain sum, not a very large one, for the adjustment of wages for at least a small part of those employed in the socialized economy whose wages did not change in a long time. We will use this sum under the condition that there is complete fulfilment of all the basic goals of the plan, especially if the wage fund for industry and the construction enterprises envisaged in the plan is not exceeded.

It can also be assumed that next year the weather will be better for our agriculture, which, obviously, would result in a decrease in prices of fruits and vegetables and hence, in an increase in real wages. The increase this year in the prices of these articles placed a painful burden on the budgets of families of wage earners. The state cannot have a major influence on the shape-up of these prices. The prices set by the state for basic food and agricultural products were not subject to change nor are we thinking of changing them.

The decreased rate of development of our economy is of a transitory nature. However, it is, at the same time, a sign indicating that not all of the goals of the present Five-Year Plan were correctly thought out. A general criticism of the plan can be made in regard to an excessive orientation towards the West, towards the highly industrialized capitalist countries. We conduct nearly 40 per cent of our trade in the markets of the capitalist world. Life has shown how dangerous this proportion is for our economy. We want and desire trade with the capitalist countries, but we cannot become dependent on them. In such a case, the caprices of the capitalist market and the discriminatory trade policies of the capitalist states in regard to the Socialist states could undermine our plan and make difficult the development of our economy.

The decrease in the rate of development of industry envisaged in the draft plan for 1963 should be made up in the following years of the present Five-Year Plan. We can do this all the more easily, the faster we draw all the conclusions as to the causes which resulted in the present situation, and the faster we put these conclusions into action. This concerns not only the Planning Commission and the central state authorities but also the trade unions, the Workers' Self-Government, the industrial associations, the management of enterprises, the engineering and designing offices, the scientific research institutes, engineers and technicians, the entire Party and trade union active, and the entire working class.

The year 1963 will require great efforts on the above-mentioned decisive fronts of our economic work in order to fulfil the outlined tasks, in order to create the conditions for a rapid development of the production potential in the following years and in this way to make possible further increases in consumption.

These tasks should be the centre of attention of the entire

trade union active, all activists, and the whole trade union movement. Better living conditions for the working people of Poland, progress in our Socialist construction, our contribution to peace and Socialism on an international scale depend on the successful solution of these problems.

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

First Secretary of the CC of the PZWP

SPEECH DELIVERED IN ZABRZE AT THE CENTRAL MEETING IN HONOUR OF MINERS' DAY, DECEMBER 3, 1962

Dear Comrade Miners,

On the occasion of your holiday, Miners' Day, I convey to you warmest greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. My sincerest greetings to all mine crews, to all workers in the mining industry and to their families.

I extend heartiest thanks to the entire large army of miners engaged in extracting hard and brown coal, iron and non-ferrous ores, sulphur, oil, natural gas, and other mineral resources for the devoted work and effort put into fulfilling the tasks laid down by the Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic, for the valuable contribution which this army made through its toil to the development of our industry and the entire national economy.

Special recognition is due to the work innovators — miners from the *Zabrze* pit, Section VIII — who last October had an output of over 57,000 tons of coal, net, and in November reached an output of 62,000 tons from one face, thus attaining the highest coal-getting index not only in our coal industry but in world mining as a whole.

Mining teams driving galleries also boast of great successes. Last April the gallery teams at the *Bolesław Śmiały* pit achieved results never before obtained in our mining industry — 746 metres (2,462 feet) — in driving a gallery. But in June this

record was beaten by a team at the *Czeladź* pit when they drove 848 metres (2,798 feet) of gallery. In October the *Bolesław Śmiały* team regained top honours by driving 1,008 metres (3,326 feet) of gallery. This excellent result was improved in the same month and, as a result, a team from the *Siemianowice* pit holds first place with a record of 1,246 metres (4,111 feet) of gallery driven.

May this profoundly Socialist labour emulation between mines continue and develop on the broadest possible scale!

Worthy of mention, too, are the results obtained by teams at the *Bolesław Śmiały* and *Boże Dary* pits who, in September and October, exceeded 350 metres (1,155 feet) monthly in driving development heading.

In addition, teams from the *Pierwszy Maja* mine attained a rate of 200 metres (660 feet) a month in driving a rock heading in extremely difficult gas conditions and teams at the *Siersza* and *Wieczorek* mines obtained a good result in sinking a shaft, namely, 100 metres (330 feet) per month.

In emphasizing the successes of the mining teams I wish, at the same time, to express my profound admiration, for the planners, designers, scientific workers and all those who are developing mining technique and raising it to a higher and higher level, who are helping to improve the technology and organization of work in extraction as well as in capital investment projects.

The overall results of the work by the coal mining industry this year are, on the whole, good and in accordance with the indices envisaged by the plan. A complete appraisal will be possible only after the end of the year. We still have ahead of us the month of December in which there are eight holidays, including Miners' Day, and this will make for higher production costs during this month. The better the output the better the production cost index will be. And it is not only a matter of



COMRADE GOMUŁKA ADDRESSES THE MINERS' DAY MEETING

reducing the costs of getting coal. The point is above all to supply the national economy with more coal than envisaged by the December plan.

The output of hard coal this year will, it is true, exceed the planned volume, but not by much. At the same time, however, the consumption of coal in the national economy has proved to be much higher this year than provided for by the plan. This has created a very tight situation with regard to hard coal supplies. The stockpiles of coal in industry and on the railways are at present almost one-third below those of a year ago. The demand of the population for coal for heating purposes is also rising. In spite of this year's increased supplies of such

coal by half a million tons (metric) over last year, in a number of localities, especially in the countryside, the demand for heating coal has not been fully satisfied.

In this situation, the Central Committee of our Party and the government appeal to the miners and their organizations to consider ways and means of increasing the December output of coal by several hundred thousand tons over and above the norms, the more so since of the last eight days of December, four are holidays.

I wish to voice the conviction that this appeal of ours, dictated by the requirements of the national economy and of the population, will meet with understanding on the part of all miners and will get the backing of their organizations.

We are aware of the difficulties created for the mining industry by the irregular deployment of railway wagons for loading. The situation in rail transport, especially in the Katowice junction, is not easy. The central authorities are trying hard to bring about the necessary improvement in this respect. Much depends on the further organizational improvement of work in rail transport, and our railwaymen will certainly do their utmost along these lines.

The difficulties in the turnover of wagons are caused by those enterprises which keep them tied up beyond the scheduled time. This is particularly true of metallurgy and construction. The management of these enterprises must put a halt to this harmful practice. The Workers' Self-Governments should demand that the management explain why the enterprises are often burdened with big penalties for holding railway wagons too long. After all, this brings harm to the entire economy and also cuts into the works fund of these enterprises.

The tasks set for the country's fuel industry — in which the hard coal industry plays the main role and the brown coal industry an ever greater part — are increasing and will keep

on increasing with each year. In 1963 we must ensure our national economy, within the framework of planned extraction and extraction over and above the plan, at least 111.5 million tons of hard coal, or 2 per cent more than this year, and nearly 14.5 million tons of brown coal, which is nearly 30 per cent more than in 1962.

The increase in the demand for coal stems from the development of our entire national economy. It can even be said that the extraction of coal is not keeping up with requirements. In 1950 we produced 78 million tons of hard coal and this year the output will exceed 109 million tons. During this period, therefore, the rise in coal output has been 40 per cent. On the other hand, taking 1950 as 100, the overall output of our industry reached an index of 373 in 1961. In other words, it has grown several times more than the extraction of hard coal which, in our country, is the prime mover of industry.

The rapidly growing demand of industry for fuel, with a relatively slow rate of growth of hard coal output, will be covered to an increasing extent by brown coal. In the present Five-Year Plan and in the next one the increase in the generation of electric power is being based mainly on brown coal. On this basis, the per unit cost of electric energy is much lower than when hard coal is used.

There has also been a large increase in the demand for coal for heating purposes. This year the supplies of heating coal, including coal allowances, came to more than 18.4 million tons of hard coal and more than 1.2 million tons of brown coal and lignite briquettes. In comparison with 1955, this constitutes an increase of more than 32 per cent. Per capita, the average consumption of coal for heating purposes now amounts to 600 kg. (1,320 lbs.) a year, not to mention gas and wood used for heating. Involved here, too, is the consumption of coal for

production purposes in agriculture, that is, consumption connected with livestock raising.

Thus, the demand for coal is growing at a faster rate than extraction and, in this connection, we have been forced to reduce considerably the export of coal. In 1950 hard coal exports amounted to nearly 26.6 million tons, or 34 per cent of the total output, whereas in 1961 exports dropped to 17 million tons, which comprised some 16 per cent of the total amount of hard coal extracted. At the same time, owing to our own insufficient extraction, we had to import nearly one million tons of coking coal in 1961. The import of such coal this year is even greater and, according to the plan, is to come to 1.2 million in 1963.

As is evident from all this, it is not the export of coal but the fact that extraction is lagging behind the requirements of the national economy that is responsible for the tight situation with regard to coal.

However, the increase in the demand for coal is not always and not altogether justified. In this field, our economy has hitherto not displayed sufficient care, but has been using coal in a wasteful, uneconomical manner. Two years ago, at the meeting on the occasion of Miners' Day, I also spoke of the need of a more thrifty use of fuels and power. Today it is necessary again to remind all users of the duty incumbent upon them to make thrifty and economical use of fuels and power, to introduce strict discipline in this regard. It is becoming the primary task of the moment to save fuels and power. One of the reasons for the incomplete reduction of production costs — of which I spoke several days ago at the 5th Congress of Trade Unions — is precisely the irrational economy of fuel and the lack of concern for the thrifty utilization of power.

In order to bring about rapid changes for the better in this respect and in order to coordinate all the problems connected

with fuels and power in the entire country, the Sejm passed a measure on May 30th of this year on the basis of which a State Inspectorate of the Fuel and Power Resources has been set up as an organ of the Minister of Mining and Power. The work of the Central Inspectorate and its six subordinate regional inspectorates, authorized to conduct direct inspection on the premises of users of fuels and power, has already yielded the first results. About 130,000 tons of coal have been saved due to the implementation of the Inspectorate's recommendations.

However, the role of the Inspectorate should not be overestimated in solving the problem of thrifty and rational use of fuels and energy. The Inspectorate itself cannot solve this problem. It is obvious that the main effort must be made by the industrial establishments, by all fuel and power consumers. Towards this end it is imperative to create the necessary atmosphere in the whole country, in every enterprise; it is necessary to break the carefree attitude towards this problem as shown by both management and the Workers' Self-Government. No one, apart from those who run the industrial establishments, is in a position to bring order and introduce a rational use of fuels and power. The Inspectorate can only, and should, give them the most effective assistance possible. This assistance should be expressed in mapping the main lines of the saving campaign and in coordinating the interests of the individual industrial enterprises with the requirements of the entire national economy. I have in mind the production of power and heat collectively and combined utilization of heat by several neighbouring consumers. As part of its tasks the Inspectorate should also outline directives for the rational utilization of fuel and power, make for higher quality and efficiency of appropriate equipment produced in the country, supervise industry in the utilization of this equipment and in the proper designing —

from the viewpoint of power engineering — of new industrial installations.

I shall not go into the details of the programme of work of the Inspectorate. The main and most important thing is that each industrial establishment, each unit in our economic life should act effectively and rapidly to bring order into its fuel and power consumption.

This also applies to mining. As in industry as a whole, so in mining too we must strive continuously to improve the main indices which determine the state of the coal mining industry — namely, the index of consumption of materials, overall costs, and progress of work on capital investment projects.

Generally speaking, the handling of materials in mining has shown further improvement over last year. 78,800,000 million zlotys have been saved on rolling mill products, steel and timber cribbing and explosives during the first 9 months of the year.

However, the amount of materials used as well as the entire handling of materials in the mines, require further urgent attention on the part of management and supervisory personnel and further improvements in line with the directives of the 9th Plenum and the programme of savings laid down by the Ministry.

The Ministry's programme for 1962-1965 envisages a reduction of more than 600 million zlotys in outlays for materials provided for by the plan. This programme has undoubtedly been worked out conscientiously but, regardless of this, the crews of pits, their managements and Workers' Self-Governments should not cease in the search for sources of further economies, in the norms of consumption and in reduction of losses of materials, both in production and in capital investment projects.

The same urgency is called for in the supervision of the way the overall costs of coal extraction shape up.

Improvement in the economic indices of each mining enterprise and pit remains the principal task.

The point is that every enterprise should carry out not only the production tasks in keeping with the means received, but that the financial results of its work should grow to the maximum. In this respect, there is a great field of operation for the economic staff of the mines who should be ensured an adequate influence on the way the profitability accounts are drawn up. In the present economic situation, when we are compelled to transfer considerable sums for the implementation of planned and additional capital projects, the mining industry, which also receives investment subsidies, should intensify its efforts and develop greater ingenuity in order to continue to reduce its costs.

A lot has been done in recent years in mining to improve capital development work. During the first three quarters of this year the production capacity of the hard coal industry has increased by more than 9,000 tons per day. There will be a further rise when the new *Jastrzębie* pit and additional important sections in the *Szczygłowice*, *Pierwszy Maja* and other mines are put into operation.

The resort to progressive concepts — while drawing the plans for the new mines — for getting at coal seams and reducing the time required for construction, ensures a growing reduction in costs of investment projects. The point is to stick to the cost estimates, not only not to exceed them but to look for further ways and means of reducing them.

Of extreme importance is the on-schedule commissioning of all mining projects which next year are to increase extraction capacity by more than 17,000 tons gross per day, and the capacity of the sorting and washing plants by more than 1,800 tons per hour.

In 1963 and during the following years we shall continue

the construction of ten new coal mines, we shall begin the construction of one new mine, we shall put into the first stage of operation six new production levels and we shall continue the construction of 52 new production levels. We are to put into operation four coal-sorting plants and five coal-washing plants, and build and extend 15 sorting plants and 29 cleaning plants; in 1963 we are to begin the construction of four sorting plants and six coal-washing plants.

In the brown coal industry, the present Five-Year Plan period is substantially of an investment nature. At the end of September, this year, the *Pątnów* open-cast mine was completed and put into full-scale operation. The *Turów II* pit which this month is already supplying its first coal to power stations, will go into operation next year and give an annual output of 2,500,000 tons while the *Turów I* mine, after extension and modernization, will raise its output to 7,000,000 metric tons in 1963.

We are allocating enormous sums of money for investment purposes in order to expand our fuel and power base. These funds should be handled with greatest care, and concern for the best possible results, by every investor and contractor as well as by the Workers' Self-Government of every enterprise.

Thanks to the joint work by the Party, the trade unions, the workers' councils and the management of the mines, there has been a marked improvement in the relations between all sections of mine workers and administrative staff as well as a stabilization of the basic mining personnel. This has had a good influence on the moods and attitude of the miners.

The traditional and sentimental ties of the miner with his pit have a significant influence on his attitude to the production targets and the development problems of the colliery.

Proper relations in the mine are a school of Socialist co-

management and make for the professional and Social advancement of the employees.

Great progress has been made in the hard-coal mines in the development of various forms of labour emulation. The title of Socialist Labour Brigade has already been conferred upon 200 teams, and the title of Socialist Labour Division upon three divisions. 150 divisions and 2,500 teams are engaged in emulation for these honourable titles.

This broadly developing movement of labour emulation should be concentrated above all round such matters as increasing the extraction of large coal, raising the output of coking coal, and reducing the production costs, especially by way of savings on materials.

At the same time, the organizers of labour emulation, among whom the Union of Socialist Youth holds a prominent place, should devote much attention to the question of raising the skill of the miners, and should see to the promotion of comradely solidarity and mutual friendliness on the part of those taking part in emulation in order to make it easier for them to overcome their daily troubles and obstacles.

The growing degree of mechanization and concentration calls for ever greater professional skill and technical know-how on the part of every mine worker.

The growing scope of training in the mining industry, and the ever better and more varied forms and programmes of schooling indicate that the Ministry — and what is most important — the broad masses of the miners, technicians and engineers understand the need to keep augmenting their general and professional knowledge.

We should like to see this interest in obtaining higher qualifications to become as widespread as possible in the mining industry, for progress in technology and organization of work depends not only on the number of machines but also on the

expert level of their operators. The mines which have long been treating this problem with due seriousness are today reaping the fruits of their good foresight. They will also find it easier to carry out their tasks next year.

For the reasons of which I spoke at the 5th Congress of Trade Unions, the increase in industrial output in 1963 will be somewhat smaller than envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. This is true of overall industrial output but it does not apply to mining. The continuously increased extraction capacity of the coal mining industry must be utilized in full.

The Party and the government express their profound conviction that the devoted army of miners, led by the tried and tested engineering and technical cadre and experienced supervisory staff will next year, as always, carry out in full the greater coal production tasks and will utilize every possibility to do even better.

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Comrades,

Our internal affairs, the achievements and the obstacles on the road of Socialist construction cannot be separated from the international situation, from the struggle which the Socialist countries, including ours, together with all the forces of Socialism and peace in the world, are waging against the danger of a nuclear war.

The danger of such a war is by no means only theoretical, some intangible thing, indefinite in time. Several weeks ago the danger suddenly took on the dimensions of a concrete menace, came face to face with the world as it were, and mankind brushed against a third world war.

This menace existed in connection with the recent dangerous international crisis resulting from the aggressive moves of the United States against the Cuban Republic. The direct danger of a third world war breaking out no longer exists today.

The dangerous wave-crest of the crisis has passed. But the danger of such a war still remains. Many international problems have not been solved thus far. Each of them contains within itself a potential danger of war. How the threat of war can grow into a war was seen by the world during the days of the dangerous crisis over Cuba.

What conclusions should be drawn from this crisis?

Only persons with a limited political sense can believe that the Soviet Union withdrew its rockets and bombers from the territory of Cuba in fear of the power of the United States. The military power of the Soviet Union is no less than that of the United States. The American physicist, Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, states in his book "Kill and Overkill" that the Soviet Union and the United States possess such an arsenal of atomic weapons as to allow each of these powers to overkill the other 25 times.

The Soviet Union acted solely and exclusively in order to preserve peace, both when it decided to install its rockets on the territory of Cuba as well as when it decided to withdraw them.

Perhaps if the Soviet rockets had not been in Cuba that revolutionary Republic would today be embroiled in the flames of a bloody struggle against imperialist interventionists who made their first attack on her last year, and this year were preparing for an attack on a larger scale. The dispatch and withdrawal of the rockets have changed the situation in favour of the Cuban Republic regardless of what course further developments take.

The withdrawal of the Soviet rockets from Cuba and the public declaration by the President of the United States renouncing armed attack on Cuba constitute a compromise arrived at within the framework of the peaceful coexistence of states. Thanks to this compromise, thanks to the profoundly

wise policy by the leaders of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Khrushchov, the Soviet people, the American people, the Polish people, and the entire world avoided the catastrophe of war.

If at any time in our atomic century the conflagration of a third world war were to break out, it would inevitably be a nuclear war. Until not long ago, the human language did not even know such terminology for describing war. Many persons react to the danger of nuclear war somewhat like to the existence of the atomic nucleus which cannot be seen. They have not seen such a war, and therefore they underestimate its danger.

The atomic bomb which the United States dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima towards the end of World War II, gives only a faint idea of the results of nuclear warfare. More than 160,000 inhabitants of that city fell victim to that bomb, and 12 square kilometres (3.7 sq. miles) of the city were completely destroyed. Missiles are being built today that are 5,000 times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

A new book that recently appeared in the United States, entitled "100 Million Human Beings," deals with the military strategy of the United States. The author presents calculations made by leading American military experts as to the losses in human life which would be inflicted in a nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States. On the assumption that the Soviet Union was first to attack, the author states that roughly three-quarters of the population of the United States would die and retaliation by the United States would kill some 40 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union. If, on the other hand, the United States were to strike first, some 40 per cent of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union and more than half of the population of the United States would perish. The greater the number of large cities and concentrations of pop-

ulation, which is typical of the United States, the greater the proportion of casualties.

Such is the picture of nuclear warfare as painted by American strategists who have limited their calculations only to the two great powers. Densely populated Western Europe would suffer even heavier casualties. On the whole, not much of it would be left.

The Soviet-American compromise on the Cuban issue, dictated by common sense, once again confirms the thesis taken up by the international Communist movement that in our day and age world war is not inevitable, though it remains a possibility. Imperialism can today no longer decide arbitrarily about war and peace. It is not allowed to do so by the world balance of forces between Socialism and capitalism.

American imperialism hates the revolutionary Republic of Cuba with all its soul. Few instances can be found in modern history of such brutal and ruthless pressure by an imperialist power on a small country defending its independence and its right to be master in its own home, as the pressure exerted by the United States on revolutionary Cuba. American imperialism has not shrunk from anything, has not been particular about the methods of fighting in its attempt to suppress the Cuban revolution. It has used the boycott and sabotage against Cuba, it has resorted to countless acts of subversion and terror, to flights by "unidentified" aircraft that destroyed sugar plantations, it has severed diplomatic relations with her, organized an invasion by counter-revolutionary emigrés and, finally, after Soviet rockets were installed, applied a naval blockade against Cuba and brought the world to the very brink of war — but did not dare to wage war. For, with the existing balance of forces, war would be suicide for it and at the same time, genocide on a scale never known before.

Opinions are being expressed in the world that despite the

undertaking by the President of the United States, the Americans can do tomorrow what they did not do today, that is, commit armed aggression against Cuba. No one can foretell what will happen tomorrow. Our thesis about the possibility of avoiding war in the present age does not mean that war has already become impossible. But it might be asked why the present balance of forces in the world, which thus far has not allowed imperialism to touch off a third world war, should change tomorrow in favour of imperialism and encourage it to start a war? The world forces of Socialism and peace are growing and gaining strength, and not becoming weaker; time is working for our cause and not for the cause of the imperialist forces of war.

Prevention of the invasion of Cuba has been a great triumph for the cause of peace and at the same time a triumph for the Cuban people whose most ardent and just desire is to ensure their sovereignty and to obtain conditions for a peaceful life and creative work for their own welfare.

But the Cuban crisis is not yet altogether over. The Soviet Union has fully carried out its promise. Now it is the turn of the United States to reaffirm, by a formal act under the auspices of the United Nations Organization, the undertaking made to the whole world on behalf of the United States by President Kennedy to renounce aggression against Cuba. The Cuban Republic must be safeguarded against new armed intervention; she must receive the due guarantees for respect of her sovereignty. The just demands of Cuba in this regard, as presented by the Prime Minister of her government and her national hero, Fidel Castro, enjoy the support of all the Socialist countries, of all the world forces of peace.

If the policy of reason and responsibility takes the upper hand in the leading circles of the United States that are fully aware of what the consequences could be of a world

conflict, if these circles demonstrate good will just as the Soviet Union does for the solution of various pressing international problems by way of compromise and concession for the sake of peace — then the danger of war will be greatly reduced. In our atomic day and age modern civilization can have the prospects of existing only when these two great powers, which possess the most powerful nuclear weapons, base their relations on peaceful coexistence and direct their policy on to the road of co-responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the world.

With the existence of opposing blocs of allies and networks of military bases on foreign territories, a conflict caused in one region of the world places many other countries in the danger of being dragged into the abyss of war regardless of their will, even if they are very far away and have absolutely no interest of their own in the given conflict. Peace has become indivisible. Every local war can easily and quickly develop into a world conflict.

The key problems which require speedy solution are: the halting of the arms race and the undertaking of such essential measures as the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting nuclear tests, the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, the creation of atom-free zones in areas that may give rise to international conflicts, the prevention of the further spreading of atomic weapons, the elimination of the vestiges of the Second World War by the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and settlement of the problem of West Berlin. The solution of these problems would open the road to general and complete disarmament which is imperative in our times.

From the time when the first atomic bomb was built, several hundred tests with the nuclear weapon have been carried out all over the world in order to improve it. The nuclear weapons tests carried out in the years 1954-1958 alone, released 100 times the energy of the explosive power of all the bombs

dropped on Germany during World War II. At present 100-megaton bombs, that is bombs with the explosive power of 100 million tons of TNT, are being built in the Soviet Union.

This year our miners produced 109 million tons of hard coal. If we were to turn it into TNT we would obtain not much more energy than that confined in one single 100-megaton bomb. And bombs of several times the explosive power can be built.

A ban on nuclear weapons tests is necessary not only in order to prevent further improvement of the means of mass annihilation but also because the test explosions pollute the atmosphere and have a harmful effect on everything that has to do with life.

The divergencies between the Soviet Union and the United States on the subject of prohibition of nuclear tests are not great and concern only the question of control of underground tests. It is to be hoped that these divergencies will be removed — if only the United States is guided by the desire for an understanding and by the interests of peace.

Reduction of the danger of a nuclear conflict and the creation of conditions for the normalization of the situation in the world and of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are connected indivisibly with the liquidation of American military bases, especially on foreign territories. The Socialist states are surrounded by a network of such bases.

There cannot be any thought of a real relaxation of international tension, of entry on to the road of disarmament without the liquidation of this network of bases which menaces the security of all the Socialist countries and the security of all countries on whose territory these bases are situated. When the United States proclaims to the world that it feels endangered by Soviet strategic weapons in Cuba, against whom it does not hide its hostile intentions, then how is it possible to justify

the presence of American rocket-launching pads and American airfields on the territories of dozens of countries. The Socialist states have made no territorial claims, they are not threatening any nation with anything nor demanding that it give up the socio-political system that exists in its country. This double standard can be reconciled neither with logic nor with the principle of equality of sovereign states, nor — what is most important — with the most vital interests of peace.

The striving for relaxation in the world — intensified by the Cuban crisis — has put the question of atom-free zones on the order of the day with new force. The idea of an atom-free zone being set up in Latin America has been put forward by Brazil which in this initiative has received the support of many countries, including Poland and other Socialist countries. The Polish proposal for the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, a proposal which has been waiting for several years for serious consideration by the Western states, is today taking on particular timeliness since it concerns a region where every armed conflict would inevitably draw Europe and the world into the abyss of war. Denuclearization of this zone, along with the thinning out of armaments, would limit the danger of such a conflict and, on the principle of mutual compromise, without detriment to any side, would improve the chances for peaceful solutions in this sensitive point of contact of the forces and interests of the Socialist states and the imperialist states.

Every concrete step conducive to the relaxation of international tension is a step on the difficult and long road leading to the general solution of the main problem of the present age — to general and complete disarmament. The Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament envisages that right in the first stage of its implementation all means of delivery of nuclear missiles would be liquidated. This is the only serious and realistic proposal the implementation of which

can remove the spectre of nuclear war that looms over the world.

The need for agreement between the great powers on this matter is all the more urgent seeing that it is necessary to prevent the nuclear weapon from being spread further. With the present state of affairs, in ten or fifteen years the nuclear weapon may find itself in the hands of another ten or fifteen states which will start manufacturing it. The danger of war will then become incomparably greater. Agreement on the prohibition and liquidation of the nuclear weapon is, by the very nature of things, bound to become more difficult the more states are in possession of such weapons. And authoritative sources in the United States declare that they will not oppose the creation of an independent nuclear force by the member-states of the NATO bloc in Europe. This is in contradiction to all the aims of disarmament. Such a policy is grist to the mill of a continued arms race, of a continued increase in the danger of war.

The nuclear weapon must be thrown out of Western and Central Europe, it must be destroyed all over the world, and not be spread to additional states. The pressure of the German Federal Republic on its allies in order to obtain the nuclear weapon must be rejected if Europe and the world are to have the prospects of a peaceful life.

All the more significant therefore become the peaceful solution of the German problem, the liquidation of the vestiges of the Second World War, and the barricading of the road to the aggressive plans of the West German militarists and revanchists. That is why there is need for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, for final recognition by the West of all of Germany's present borders, renunciation of atomic armament of the Bundeswehr and all forms of possession of atomic weapons by the German Federal Republic, respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, normalization

of the situation and abolition of the occupation status in West Berlin.

As in the case of other international problems, in presenting proposals for the solution of the German problem the Socialist states are guided by the spirit of compromise in accordance with the interests of peace.

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Our Socialist homeland, the entire Polish nation takes an active part in the world struggle to safeguard peace. Poland's voice for peace in the international arena will carry greater weight the more we close the ranks of the working class and all working people in work and struggle on the front of our national economy, on the front of Socialist construction. For here are forged the strength of our homeland, the welfare and future of the nation.

The aims of Socialism are the aims of Poland, of the Polish nation. Together with all the countries of the Socialist camp, together with the Soviet Union — the leading force of world Socialism — we shall fight for the most important thing in the day and age we live in: to ensure lasting peace for ourselves and for all mankind.

We believe that peace will triumph over war.

EDWARD OCHAB

Member of the Political Bureau of the CC

Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY, NOVEMBER 21, 1962

Dear Comrades,

In the name of the Central Committee and the entire Party, the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party cordially greets the 8th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and brings heartfelt greetings from the working class of People's Poland and the whole Polish nation to the Hungarian working class as well as to all Hungarians.

We joyfully hail the achievements of the fraternal Hungarian people who, under the leadership of their Party, consistently applying Marxist-Leninist principles, built the foundations for a Socialist system and have taken the road of evolving a Socialist structure.

We endorse the estimate of the international situation as well as the situation of the international working-class movement as contained in Comrade Janos Kadar's report. This assessment fully coincides with that formulated by the Polish United Workers' Party.

We are happy with you that Hungary became in the years of the people's power a country with a high level of industrial and agricultural development. The Socialist transformation of your agriculture has brought about that total Socialist relations of production prevail throughout your economy. Your country can be proud of its notable achievements in the fields of educa-

tion and culture, and in raising the standard of living of the population.

We are convinced that the brotherly Hungarian people will successfully implement the long-range tasks outlined by the Party, which will assure a continued, all-round flowering of your fatherland.

A principal factor in your success was the consolidation of the ranks of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, and for a correct Marxist-Leninist political line.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party heightened its authority among the broad sections of the people, secured the confidence of the masses for the policies of the Party, for the leading force in the Socialist transformation of the country.

We are proud of your achievements and welcome them, for the development of each of our countries represents a part of the historical transformations being effected in the great community of Socialist countries, and profits the entire international Communist movement.

Comrades,

Socialist changes have no less deeply transformed every area of life of the Polish people, giving Poland a new social and political face.

People's Poland has grown into a country with great metallurgical works, great chemical plants, a strong shipbuilding industry and a million-ton merchant marine.

Agricultural production, in terms of 100 hectares of farm land, has in the past three years been higher by an average of about sixty per cent in comparison with the pre-war period. During these years the yield from the four main cereals has increased from 11.4 to 16.7 quintals per hectare.



EDWARD OCHAB

The great majority of our present cadres owe their education to People's Poland. And these are quite substantial by now. Polish industry accounts for 300,000 engineers and technicians. We have educated 20,000 agronomists, veterinarians and mechanical engineers for agriculture. The teaching staff in our institutions of higher learning now numbers almost 20,000.

Since the birth of People's Poland we have built five million dwelling rooms, thousands of schools, hospitals and other structures. In the current year we have

built about half a million dwelling rooms in town and country.

Surmounting all manner of difficulties we are pursuing the road of development and competing in this development with capitalist countries, approaching at a swift pace the level of the most developed countries in Western Europe.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

It is a generally recognized fact that strong ties of affection have, for generations past, united the Polish and Hungarian nations. We remember how strong was the bond of solidarity that linked the Polish and Hungarian revolutionary democrats of the 19th century; still stronger and deeper is the solidarity between Polish and Hungarian Communists and all working

people striving in our liberated countries for the complete victory of Socialism.

The Socialist development of the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic adds a fresh content to the traditional friendship between our nations and constitutes the most important source and lasting foundation for fraternal cooperation between our countries. From year to year Polish-Hungarian trade relations grow closer, cultural and scientific cooperation becomes deeper, and the exchange of Party experiences grows more extensive. These are good prospects for cooperation in the engineering industry, particularly in the production of machinery for the food and agricultural industries.

This is in accordance with the principles of international Socialist division of labour, elaborated at this year's meeting of representatives of member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Application of these principles will enable our countries to meet the needs of further economic development, will allow for a fuller use of our common forces, will strengthen the Socialist countries in their economic competition with capitalism, and hasten the moment of our ultimate triumph in this competition.

Comrades,

We live in the century whose socio-historical quintessence is to be found in the transition of the world from capitalism to Socialism. Forty-five years after the Great October Revolution finds Socialism as a world system playing a decisive role in the development of all humanity.

The first Socialist state, the mighty Soviet Union, has embodied into life the historical programme of constructing the material and technical base for Communism, indicating for

humanity the road to the future, and opening before it the prospect of mastering the cosmos.

The growth of Socialism has led to the break-up of the reign of colonial imperialism. The empire of the colonizers, built over the centuries, is falling apart under the blows of nations which, subjugated but yesterday, are now entering the arena of international life and strengthening the forces that fight for peace and human progress.

Socialist ideas win the hearts and minds of ever greater masses, of millions upon millions of working people the world over.

The latest Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have enriched Marxist-Leninist theory, and are prominently recorded in the development of the international working-class movement as an event of historic significance for the present and the future of Socialism. The ideas of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU have become irreplaceable weapons in the struggle to uproot the remnants of the cult of the individual, making it easier to surmount the pernicious tendencies of dogmatism and revisionism.

The Polish United Workers' Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party decidedly favour the strengthening of the unity between Communist and Workers' Parties, resolutely favour the consolidation of the community of Socialist states. The international solidarity of the Communist movement, in the spirit of the Declaration of the 81 Parties, is a condition and a guarantee of our successes in the struggle for progress and peace.

We resolutely condemn the efforts to undermine the unity of the world Communist movement by such adventurists like Enver Hoxha and similar ones who abstract quotations from Marxism and vitiate its content and, as a matter of fact, draw

their hypocritical "arguments" from the arsenal of the enemies of Marxism.

The Polish United Workers' Party, just as other Marxist parties, consider that, in view of the historical changes in the relation of forces between capitalism and Socialism, war has ceased to be fatally inevitable. The possibility exists for its elimination from the life of nations.

The Soviet Union thwarts the warlike adventurism of American and world imperialist forces with a policy of peace permeated with a sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind. This policy, supported by the Socialist countries, by a significant number of neutral states as well as the democratic forces throughout the world, saved the peace for humanity during the feverish days of the Cuban crisis. The situation continues to demand the alertness and resolution of peoples in order to ensure Cuba the inviolability and security of her frontiers, in order to banish the danger of armed conflict. Only blind people are unable to understand that a sensible compromise that guarantees coexistence of states with different social systems lies in the interest of all peoples, in the interest of the peaceful development of humanity.

The Cuban crisis emphatically demonstrates how extremely necessary it is to resolve by means of negotiation the unsettled international problems. In those moments of acute tension during this crisis the peoples of the world realized more clearly than ever before that the advancement of the cause of peace demands the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, a ban on nuclear tests and the destruction of all weapons of mass extermination, as well as the conclusion of an international agreement for complete and general disarmament.

Poland, Hungary and other countries which closely follow the rebirth of aggressive militarism in Germany, see the need for quickly resolving the German question in the spirit of the

Soviet Union's proposals. West German militarists press forward a programme of territorial claims and call for atomic weapons in order to gain supremacy in Western Europe and to subordinate the latter to their revengeful policies. The Polish people, together with other European peoples, raises its voice of protest and warning against these plans. In the course of World War II the Nazi aggressors murdered over 30 million people, including six million Polish citizens. We must never again allow the posthumous spawn of Nazism to drown Europe and the whole world in blood. We must endeavour to sign a peace treaty with both German states and resolve on this basis the problem of West Berlin, which will have important meaning for the durable normalization of relations in Europe.

Our Party and our government are convinced that the only proper method of solving controversial international problems is one of negotiation and a patient search for solutions in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

Dear Comrades,

Both our countries, both our parties are taking an active part in strengthening the forces and the cohesion of the Socialist camp as the most important factor for preserving and consolidating peace in the world. The fraternal bonds between the Polish United Workers' Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party find their expression in the mutual support to each other, in the expanding exchange of experiences in building Socialism. These bonds serve to consolidate the unity and the fraternal alliance of the great family of Communist and Workers' parties of all races and all continents.

Faithful to the ideas of proletarian internationalism, we regard the tasks we carry out as an integral part of the historical struggle of the international working class for liberat-

ing mankind from oppression and exploitation, for the victory of lasting peace and Socialism in the whole world.

Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — the leading force of the Hungarian people in the struggle for Socialism and peace!

Long live the unity of the countries of the Socialist camp and of the whole international working-class movement, and may this unity continue to grow stronger!

ZENON KLISZKO

Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP
Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY DECEMBER 4, 1962

Dear Comrades,

I wish first of all to extend to your Congress, to all the members of your Party and, through you, to all the fighters for democracy and peace in Italy, the heartiest greetings from the Polish United Workers' Party, from the Polish working class and the entire Polish nation.

Above geographic and state frontiers, over and above dissimilarities of historic circumstances and social systems, common traditions of freedom unite the people of both our countries, while our Marxist-Leninist parties are united by indissoluble bonds of proletarian internationalism, common Socialist ideals, a common struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence and fraternity among peoples.

We fully appreciate the difficulties and complexities of your struggles in conditions of the expanding role of state capitalism and Italy's far-reaching structural transformations, a situation that calls for both a principled and elastic policy on the part of a working-class party — a policy of uniting all the progressive forces against reaction and the domination of monopoly capitalism, a policy of democratic renewal in your country. All the more, therefore, do we rejoice at every one of your successes, at every victory that bears witness to your Party's eminent in-

fluence and the confidence it enjoys among wide masses of people, at the vital role it plays today in Italy's political life.

The ideological achievements of your Party, which boldly tackles the new problems of our epoch, arouse great interest in our country. The living current of Marxist thought that combats bourgeois and reformist views, that rejects both revisionism and dogmatic sectarianism, not only solidifies your ranks but likewise constitutes a precious contribution to the achievement of the international working-class movement.

Comrades!

The matter that you and we, just like Communists in other countries, consider of supreme importance is the rescue of mankind from the cataclysm of a new world war. Communism today does not mean only a struggle for the liberation of the working class, the freeing of oppressed and exploited by imperialism; it means also, and above all, the life of nations, the very existence of contemporary civilization.

On this most vital problem for the future of the world, our Party fully shares the attitude expressed in Comrade Togliatti's report.

The course of the Cuban crisis, which brought humanity face to face with the peril of atomic war, demonstrated the truth that the forces of peace, the powerful Socialist camp and the anti-war mass movement are capable of checking imperialist aggression, preserve the independence of peoples, and preserve mankind from the tragedy of nuclear catastrophe.

It is to the historic merit of the Soviet Union and the personal credit of Comrade Khrushchov that their courageous and pervasive sense of political responsibility led to a reasonable compromise, checkmated a U.S. invasion of Cuba and saved world peace.

We are strongly convinced that the clock of history has



ZENON KLISZKO

already struck the hour in which people, responsible for the fate of nations, should renounce military means in relations between states and begin to negotiate in good will in order to resolve, one after another, the urgent problems of our times, problems that might lead to a conflict.

It is high time to end once and for all with nuclear testing and get down to the business of general and complete disarmament.

To begin with, plans for arming with nuclear weapons those countries which had heretofore not possessed any, must be thwarted, and fol-

lowed up with a treaty that would provide for the complete destruction of all existing nuclear weapons and the prohibition of their further production.

A notable step toward disarmament and a relaxation of tensions in the world would undoubtedly be our government's proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the heart of Europe.

If the world is to be freed from the menace of conflict that is once again liable to drive it to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe, it becomes imperative to get down, without further delay, to a realistic solution of the German question. Militarism and revenge-seeking claims of the government of the German Federal Republic must be finally finished with. On no account must nuclear weapons be placed in the hands of Bundeswehr

generals. The Western powers must recognize as final the present German frontiers, accept the fact of the existence of two German states: alongside of the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic — the first workers' and peasants' state in the history of Germany, a state free of militarism and striving to live in peace and friendship with all other countries. And finally, we must sign a peace treaty with Germany and on this basis regulate the situation in West Berlin.

The more cohesive and unified the Socialist bloc and the international Communist movement, the more powerful and closer to victory will be the world's forces for peace. Consistent with the principles unanimously adopted at the meeting of the 81 Parties, each of our Parties, acting independently and governed by Marxist-Leninist ideology, solves its domestic affairs in accordance with its country's circumstances. On the other hand, complete unity of action devolves upon all our Parties when it comes to fighting against imperialism in defence of peace. Whoever infringes upon this unity and solidarity, whoever breaches this common international front of the revolutionary working-class movement, causes great harm to the forces of Socialism and peace in the world. Because of this, our Party severely condemns the activities of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour which, from a position of adventurism and dogmatism, pursues an intolerable course that is levelled against other Communist and Workers' parties, and infringes the elementary principles of internationalism and the unity of Socialist states.

No one who takes the unity of the international working-class movement and the principles of proletarian internationalism to heart, can possibly endorse the irresponsible attitude of the Albanian leadership.

And still another thing: if we take seriously the slogan of

the fight for peace among peoples, if the word "Peace," uttered by all of us, truly signifies peace, we cannot but see that the future fate of the world — the victory of Socialism over capitalism — will, in large measure, be decided by the peaceful, economic competition between the Socialist and capitalist systems.

Comrades!

United in fraternal alliance with the Socialist commonwealth of nations, Poland has, for the past seventeen years, been striding along the new, historical Socialist path.

Our Party concentrates its attention chiefly on the economic development of our country. Under the guidance of our Party and owing to our cooperation with other Socialist countries, owing above all to the fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union, our people, acting with profound faith in the stability of the edifice put up at the cost of considerable sacrifice and difficulties, raised Poland from century-old backwardness and a ruinous war, and developed an industrial-agricultural state that is swiftly ascending the ladder of social and cultural progress.

Our per capita industrial production is nine times that of pre-war, and our agriculture produces 1.5 times more. We have already made up half the distance that separates us from the highly developed capitalist countries in Europe, and we have every prospect of exceeding this European level in the course of the next dozen years or so.

To this end, we are redoubling our efforts in favour of pooling the resources and productive potentials of the countries that compose the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance so that by virtue of an international Socialist division of labour, specialization and cooperation of production, by virtue of coordinating long-term plans for economic development, we can

hasten the economic, technical and scientific progress as well as raise the standard of living of our peoples.

Our Party links the problems of economic progress inseparably with the development of democratic forms of government and administration. In this direction, we develop our Socialist parliamentarianism, the activity of our elective organs of power — the People's Councils, the activities of our trade unions and of the Workers' Self-Government in Socialist enterprises, as well as the work of the agricultural circles, the peasant organization for the joint use of machinery and the promotion of modern farming.

The main political effort of our Party aims to rally the broadest masses of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, our whole society, around the nation-wide tasks of building Socialism. This effort is sustained by the cooperation of our Party, within the framework of the National Unity Front, with the allied parties of Socialist democracy in the Sejm, in the government, in local governmental bodies and in civic organizations. This effort is likewise served by our policy of uniting believers and non-believers for the good of our country, despite the clerical and demagogic forces active within the Church hierarchy.

Our road for the building of Socialism is not devoid of difficulties and obstacles. In order to overcome them our Party boldly appeals to the masses, does not disparage achievements, but neither does it hide our shortcomings, tells the truth and, above all, is concerned about the confidence of the working class and the nation.

Dear Comrades!

I wish to assure you of our earnest solidarity with your struggle. We wish you new successes in your activities on behalf of all progressive and democratic forces of the Italian

people. We believe that your 10th Congress will act as a powerful stimulus for the continued growth of your forces and for the influence of your Party, and will contribute to the intensification of the struggle for a turn to the left, for a democratic renewal in Italy, for peace and for Socialism.

Long live the vanguard of the Italian people, the Communist Party of Italy! Long live the friendship and solidarity between the working masses of Poland and Italy!

EDWARD GIEREK

Member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Secretary of the CC of the PUPW
First Secretary of the Katowice Provincial Committee of the PUPW

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 12TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DECEMBER 5, 1962

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Permit me to convey to your Congress and through you to the members of the fraternal Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people, greetings and best wishes from the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, from our entire Party and from the Polish nation.

The Polish United Workers' Party expresses its full solidarity with your programme of Socialist construction, with your struggle for peace and unity of the international workers' movement and with all the basic problems raised in the report of Comrade Antonin Novotny.

We are truly happy about the successes achieved by the working people of Czechoslovakia — in all sectors of Socialist construction — under the leadership of their Communist Party; we are happy about the successes of our neighbours, close friends and brothers.

Implementation of the programme outlined by your Congress for the further development of a Socialist society, will help to bring about a further marked expansion of the productive forces and will strengthen Czechoslovakia's position as one of the leading industrial countries in Europe.

Dear Czechoslovak Brothers. We wish you all possible success in this responsible, great and fascinating work.

Like Czechoslovakia, People's Poland too has been transform-

ed into a strong industrial-agricultural country, due to the devoted work of our people as well as the cooperation and fraternal aid of the countries of the Socialist camp and, above all, the Soviet Union. Per capita, our industry produces nine times more than before the war. This includes over 109 million tons of hard coal extracted in the course of the year, 35 million kw-h of electric energy, 7.7 million tons of steel, more than 7.5 million tons of cement and 850,000 tons of sulphuric acid.

We have built from scratch a number of important branches of the engineering and chemical industries, and in shipbuilding we are among the first ten countries in the world.

Per capita agricultural production rose by over 50 per cent as compared with the pre-war period.

The considerable distance dividing the former Poland from the more developed European capitalist countries is now a thing of the past. In this way People's Poland makes its contribution to our great common cause — the victory of Socialism in economic competition with capitalism.

In order to ensure a more rapid advance of the economy of our countries in line with the latest technology, it is necessary to continue the speedy development of economic cooperation between the Socialist countries. Of great importance in this respect was the June conference of the First Secretaries and heads of government of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance held in Moscow. This conference worked out a new line and laid down higher forms of such cooperation.

The Polish and Czechoslovak national economies complement each other and constitute an advantageous base for linking our efforts for the development of our countries.

It was precisely because of this that we were in a position during recent years to undertake the joint solution of important problems pertaining to raw materials, science and technology,



EDWARD GIEREK

etc. Economic cooperation between our countries went beyond the ordinary exchange of goods and began to embrace capital investment projects and specialization in production.

Dear Comrades,

The Polish people highly value this cooperation. We Poles believe that, in the future, our relations will develop still further and will become even closer, that what has been done until now is only the beginning of the great task of Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation — an important element for the economic unification of the Socialist countries.

Comrades,

Unity and cohesion of the Socialist camp, unity of action by the Communist and Workers' parties is a basic condition for the success of each Socialist country and of the entire Socialist system, is a guarantee of our strength, independence and security. The principles of the strategy and tactics of the international workers' movement in our epoch — when a new relation of forces has been established in the world, when Socialism has become a more and more important factor for determining the further development of mankind — are continued in the Declaration of the Conference of 81 Parties held two years ago. Adherence to these principles and close observance of the jointly elaborated proposals is the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist party. That is why we strongly condemn the irresponsible, groundless and slanderous attacks of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour on the fraternal parties, on their policy and their leaders.

Nobody who truly cherishes the cause of Socialism and peace can support this harmful campaign of the Albanian leaders.

The unity of our movement, the cohesion of our ranks constitutes the most effective weapon in the fight for the victory of the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. Guided by the decisions of the Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, the Socialist countries consider the fight for the prevention of war as their main task.

The recent events showed only too clearly the correctness of this principle. The aggressive circles of American imperialism, trampling upon all the rules of international law and principles of self-determination of nations, brought the world to the very brink of a terrible war. In those very tense days people all over the world could compare the attitude of imperialism with that of a peace-loving power, the Soviet Union, which did not permit the world to be pushed into the abyss

of mass annihilation. Great political wisdom and a strong feeling of responsibility for the fate of mankind were required to prevent a catastrophe. These were manifested once again by the Soviet government in the proposals included in the declarations and letters of Comrade Khrushchov.

Our Party and our government, just as other Communist parties and governments of Socialist countries, wholeheartedly support the momentous proposals designed to bring about a peaceful solution of controversies and to lift from Cuba the danger of direct intervention and destruction of the revolutionary achievements of its heroic people.

Unfortunately, not all the inflammatory spots that constitute a threat to peace have as yet been eliminated. There is still the festering and unsolved problem of a peace treaty with Germany and the problem of West Berlin. It is an alarming fact that militarism is growing stronger in the German Federal Republic, and that the policy of revenge and *Drang nach Osten* has become the official policy of the Bonn government.

But times have changed. Poland and Czechoslovakia are today members of the powerful Socialist community. We are not as weak and defenceless as during the inter-war years. If together with other Socialist countries, we raise our voice with regard to the German question, if we warn against the threat of militarism and revanchist moves, we do so for the sake of peace in Europe and the whole world. Our government has on a number of occasions stated its position concerning the German problem. We repeat once again — a peace treaty should be signed with Germany and West Berlin should be turned into a free, demilitarized city.

It is high time that normal conditions are created for the development of the first German state of workers and peasants — the German Democratic Republic — with which we are connected by ties of fraternal friendship.

Dear Comrades,

In the life of our parties the meetings of the highest bodies are of special importance, for they lay down the general line for the further development of the party and the nation. At the same time, a congress is not only the internal affair of the given party but also an important event for the fraternal parties and for the entire international workers' movement.

Permit me, dear comrades, to convey to you once again heartiest fraternal greetings from our Party and from the Polish people. I wish you, with all my heart, further success in your work for the final victory of Socialism and Communism.

EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK

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NEW CONTENT AND NEW FORMS OF PARTY SCHOOLING

The new school year was preceded by a broad and animated discussion among the Party active and members on the direction and the forms of ideological-educational work so far undertaken.

The principal motif running through the innumerable comments, critical remarks and proposals was the concern for linking better than heretofore the content of lectures on economics, politics and scientific world outlook with the practice of Socialist construction in our country, as well as to render it a more effective tool in the education of the new man.

This discussion was at the same time an expression of independent searching, the first experiences and solutions taken up in the recent period in the field of Party propaganda. For the past year already witnessed the effect of changes in the previous system of organizing schooling and working out new forms in line with the concrete local needs of Party committees and organizations, as well as with the actual interests of various sections of Party and non-party people.

The theoretical achievements of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in particular, and the broad campaign occasioned by the 20th anniversary of the rise of the Polish Workers' Party, helped much more concisely to link ideological training with contemporary problems, with Party tasks, the international working-class movement and with problems that are uppermost in the minds of the people.

A number of publications issued in this period — textbooks, brochures and mimeographed lectures for the study of political economy both of Socialism and capitalism, the economic policy of People's Poland, agrarian economy and agricultural policy, problems of world outlook and scientific atheism, history of the Polish working-class movement — are characterized by a more proper selection of subjects, a greater clarity and infinitely more attractive editorial format.

At the same time the leading Party bodies took specific remedial steps to overcome the routine, frequently mechanical way of inflicting on Party members the existing forms and subjects for their schooling.

First of all these found expression in a greater variety of forms of school work than in the past. New forms of schooling were established for broad sections of workers, so-called schools for activists in Workers' Self-Government bodies. Schooling on a broader scale was launched for candidates for Party membership. Lectures on propaganda were now more ample than before, and concentrated chiefly on current events in the international field and current Party policy, with lectures on individual areas of Marxism. Great emphasis was placed on working out new Marxist-Leninist methods of educating the Party active. To a wider extent than before, ideological problems were made the subjects for discussion at meetings of Party organizations.

All this enabled the Party to reach different strata with subject matter that tallied more effectively with their needs, interests and abilities.

At the same time this brought in its wake a greater flexibility in the system of schooling than heretofore.

The main directions of the changes with respect to ideological-educational work were formulated in the materials prepared by the Party leadership and in the programmes elaborated by

the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee. Space permits us to deal only with major elements in this regard.

Among the many forms of mass training, two new ones deserve special mention.

The first of these is "Conversations about the Economy," by now so popular among a multitude of Party members and non-party people. The basic material for study is a series of interesting and attractively produced monographs under this title. Two volumes were published this year. They contain the answers to the most frequent and worrisome questions and perplexities of the run-of-the-mill individual, and explain matters one meets up with in daily life. We might mention, by way of example, monographs on such subjects as: ways of promoting technical progress; the role of economic incentives in a system of Socialist-managed economy; labour productivity and the living standard of the community; ways and means of raising agricultural production in Poland; the problem of effectiveness of capital investments; directions for remodelling the system of economic administration, etc.

It is evident from the above that these monographs contain simultaneously a considerable amount of information about Poland's economic situation, its development, future prospects, its headaches and its sensitive spots.

Their editorial form is highly appreciated both by the teaching staff and those attending classes. The text is interspersed with diagrams and tables, nicely executed, aesthetic and colourful to the eye. Each chapter concludes with a special annex with tables and statistical data, which thus does not impede reading and yet constitutes an interesting addendum for the well-prepared reader.

The second thematic series to be published this year will be entitled "Conversations About Society." These are popular and

persuasive conversations about Marxist views of the world, about society, culture and family, and about the scientific concept of life and man.

It would seem that, based on the programme of courses on "Conversations About the Economy" and "Conversations About Society," favourable prospects are shaping up for achieving what had for so long been demanded: a system of mass education which would provide the foundations of Marxist knowledge to broad sections of Party members.

Rural schooling will continue to be based on the handbook, "Foundations of Political Knowledge," which represents a compendium of basic information about the birth, the revolutionary social transformations and the principal directions of the development of the people's democratic state in Poland. A valuable innovation, for the time being introduced only in the province of Wrocław, are the so-called schools for rural activists. These are intended to meet the urgent need for additional education for the peasantry, primarily Party members and agricultural activists, concerning the basic activities of the organs of people's power, the economic system and peasant self-government as well as the ability to benefit from modern technique in the countryside. Some ten to fifteen such schools, embracing between 300 and 500 students, have been organized in each of the counties.

A richer programme of studies is also to be noted on the so-called intermediate level of schooling.

Thus, for example, a programme of selected socio-philosophical problems was introduced into the previous curriculum concerning a scientific world outlook. An important gap is filled by the new programme on international problems. Changes have also been introduced into the programme on economic policy. As part of a two-year programme, on this subject, the students are offered a choice of three series of

lectures. These will be: "Selected Problems about the Development of the Polish Economy," "Current Problems in Socialist Industry," and "Problems of Prices, Wages and Standard of Living." This creates the possibility of discussing the main problems that interest a given group rather than imposing a course of enforced studies.

The remaining programmes existed last year: the economics of agriculture and the history of the working-class movement. But these, were rendered full of current interest. Thus, for instance, in the study of history there is now greater emphasis on the latest events in the life of the nation and the Polish working-class movement.

The greatest change, however, was made in the syllabus of the highest level of studies, that is, in self-education. First and foremost, there has been an increase in courses.

The heart of the matter is to be found, however, in the fact that the character of the course has been adapted to new ways of implementation.

Let us examine the matter a bit more closely. Now then, it is accepted that programmes based on complete courses devoted to various aspects of Marxism-Leninism are scarcely appealing for the well-advanced student, and their realization in self-education groups for two-hour periods spaced, besides, over two years, does not yield desirable results. Moreover, the dispersion of small groups over the region creates difficulties in finding suitable lecturers and leaders. On the other hand, the need for a systematic course of study of individual areas of Marxism by a part of the active is obvious.

The experiences of some provinces in which such forms of self-education as the yearly courses on the Marxist-Leninist Evening Universities (WUML — Polish initials) as well as the night schools for activists were developing favourably, came to the rescue. Precisely on the basis of these experiences the

new forms of self-education are being introduced: evening courses of yearly specialized studies organized by the WUML, County Party Committees as well as the largest factory Party committees.

Organizing such studies for a hundred or more comrades makes it possible to secure considerably better lecturers and students. Conducting classes at night instead of immediately after work hours and introducing, by way of the WUML model, the necessary discipline in studies, should give better results. Of no little significance for the development of this type of self-education will surely be the possibility of sending to such courses the active from small organizations where no practical chance exists for varied forms of schooling.

The following subjects are being proposed: political economy, problems of Socialist economy and capitalist economy, agricultural policy and economics, as well as such studies as sociology, ethics, religion and the history of the working-class movement.

Naturally, not every one wishes or feels the need to further his education by taking special evening courses. For that reason, possibilities have been created for such people to study selected, most immediate problems of Marxist theory and practice in a most agreeable form, such as self-study groups, theoretical seminars, etc.

Some Party propaganda centres are using to good advantage such forms of ideological instruction as discussions on new books in the field of Marxism-Leninism, meetings with their authors, meetings with scholars, with Party leaders, etc.

The main feature of the new programmes is the fact that they are constantly being brought up to date in order to cover current problems.

This is best shown in the newly prepared programmes on economics. Regardless of the level of schooling, all the pro-

grammes (in different spheres of course) set forth such topics as problems of capital investments, foreign trade and economic cooperation between the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, technical progress, labour productivity and agriculture. Another group of subjects deals with the building of Communism in the Soviet Union, competition between the Socialist and capitalist systems, problems of the economically less developed countries, and the processes of integration in present-day capitalism.

The new approach for the solution of economic problems treated in the textbooks and courses are implicit in that the theoretical evaluations and conclusions formulated in them are based on current problems, thanks to which they also acquaint the students with the mechanics of Socialist economy. This makes it possible not only to learn the basic scientific theses and ideas, but to master Marxist economic reasoning, to see the causality, the correlation and complexity of economic phenomena. The idea is that a graduate should be able to operate actively and not merely formally carry out instructions.

Characteristic in this respect is, among other things, the programme of studies on the economy and the economic policies of People's Poland, into which has been introduced special school work devoted to an analysis of individual economic problems in a given region.

Likewise, comrades interested in, so to speak, philosophic questions, discover in the new publications and programmes many timely subjects.

As examples of this, let us mention here such interesting and new subjects for wide circles of students as Marxist problems of relations between people or problems in the sphere of "the individual and the community." Such interesting and socially necessary themes as questions of morality and ethics have found an important place in the programmes, and the complex of

problems concerning world outlook has been greatly extended. Suffice it to mention only some themes like "The Meaning of World Outlook for the Contemporary Student of Nature," "Philosophy and Practical Life," "The Problem of Contemporary Man's Moral Attitude in the Light of Marxist Ethics," "Attitudes in World Outlook of Youth," etc. The very formulation of these themes indicates they are calculated not only to present students with the principles of Marxism, but to teach them to solve independently today's difficult problems by means of our world outlook.

The changes introduced into the content of handbooks and school programmes create the possibility of enhancing the attractiveness and the level of training, and stimulating discussion which, after all, increase the efficacy of the training for influencing the formation of a Marxist view of the world and the capacity to transform the world in accordance with the foundations of Marxist ideology. In short, better programmes and better materials for training that go to the heart of today's complicated problems, stimulate independent thinking, arouse the student's interest and promote discussion.

While we are on the subject of streamlining the programmes, we cannot avoid calling attention to the fact that our practical educational activities are giving rise to tendencies to change the methods of popularizing Marxism.

A lively discussion is going on among the active concerned with problems of propaganda on the ways of selecting training subjects for different sections and groups of Party members.

The variety of interests and their wide range do not, as we know, allow even the best of author-editor teams to include every conceivable problem in the handbooks and curricula, particularly so because life poses new problems almost every day. We therefore strive to have the Party organizations themselves relate, to the extent this is needed, the problems included

in a prescribed programme, to current events, and even have the said organizations themselves supplement the programme.

In theoretically advanced circles, as for example, among teaching staff at institutions of higher learning, journalists, publishers, etc., the experiment of conducting schooling on the basis of the programme worked out by Party branches in consultation with the pertinent leading Party bodies, has proved to be successful. There is a tendency to extend these principles in the coming year to embrace broader circles of Party members, especially those who already have behind them various courses of systematic schooling.

On the other hand, during the current year we endeavoured to give every member — in all Party committees and branches — the practical possibility of selecting some subject for Party training.

A great obstacle to improving the methods of school work, to modernizing their forms, was the absence of suitably elaborated methods as well as of an up-to-date material-technical base, that is, those means without which — no more than without good handbooks — one cannot nowadays conceive of effective work in this type of schooling. A number of leading Party bodies have now taken initial steps to introduce changes along these lines.

Thus, for example, the Warsaw Committee engaged a special team of Party people working in the educational field to prepare an outline on methods for lecturers and activists in propaganda, taking into account not only the interest and level of the respective social groups, but also of the "objective" requirements of modern propaganda.

The Party's Propaganda Centre in Łódź achieved, in general, positive results in some aspects of television schooling. Thus four times a month the local TV studio broadcast at stated periods, special film programmes thematically connected with

the various courses. The first reports indicate that this innovation was greeted with enthusiasm not only by the instructors but, above all, by the students. TV films make it possible not only to get at the mind, but to react on the imagination of the viewers. The supplementation of the spoken word with such visual aids as charts and pictures counteracts at the same time the weariness of students who do not have the habit of intellectual work. Psychologists, moreover, suggest that visual memory is more general than that of audio, so that facts, figures and statements presented in this fashion are retained more permanently.

Considering these first experiences as an obvious need for ideological-educational work, the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee intends in the nearest future to expand the scale and scope of up-to-date means of propaganda techniques. Among other things, we expect to increase the production of educational films (especially such that deal with the problems of world outlook, international problems, with the history of the working-class movement etc.).

In the course of two or three years every centre of Party propaganda will be outfitted with a TV set, a movie projector, a tape recorder and other audio and visual aids. The possibility of systematic broadcasts of special programmes of educational films by local TV stations for the needs of Party schooling and propaganda is likewise being contemplated.

The whole of this undertaking, aimed at improving the content and methods of Party schooling, constitutes one of the important sectors of the general endeavour to raise the level of ideological-educational work conducted by Party committees and organizations. That is why we attach a great deal of significance to its consistent and proper realization.

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND IN DECEMBER 1962

Nov. 23- Drago Vucinic, national
Dec. 2 secretary of the Yugoslav Committee for Cultural Cooperation with Foreign Countries, paid a visit to Poland. The Yugoslav guest acquainted himself with cultural and artistic life in Warsaw and other Polish cities.

Nov. 26- At the invitation of the
Dec. 1 Brazilian government, Witold Trąmpczyński — Minister of Foreign Trade of the Polish People's Republic — paid an official visit to the United States of Brazil where he had talks with leading figures, including President J. Goulart. Among the subjects discussed were: increased trade as well as economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries on a level corresponding to the degree of development of Poland and Brazil. Under discussion too were problems connected with Brazil's purchase of capital goods in Poland. It was agreed to set up a mixed Polish-Brazilian commission. Two important contracts were signed during the visit: one regarding the sale

of 50,000 tons of rails by Poland to Brazil and the building of a power plant with a capacity of 200 megawatts in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

Nov. 28- At the invitation of the
Dec. 8 CC of the CPSU, a delegation of PUWP officials, led by K. Witaszewski, head of the Administrative Department of the CC, visited the Soviet Union. During their stay in the USSR the members of the delegation acquainted themselves with the work of administrative and party bodies in Moscow and Leningrad.

1 Following the conclusion of negotiations between the governments of Poland and Hungary a trade and payments agreement for 1963 was signed in Budapest. In accordance with the provisions of the protocol, trade between the two countries is to increase by about 49 per cent in 1963 over the targets of the long-term agreement and by more than 17 per cent over those of the protocol for 1962.

2 On its way from Moscow to Prague to attend the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the delegation of the CPSU, headed by Leonid Brezhnev — Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR — made a stop-over in Warsaw where it was received by Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic. On its way back to Moscow the delegation made another stop-over in Warsaw.

2-7 A delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, led by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, attended the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy. Comrade Zenon Kliszko greeted the Congress on behalf of the PUWP.

4 Miners' Day was celebrated all over the country. The Polish coal mining industry, which has become one of the most modern in the world, extracted over 109 million tons of hard coal in 1962. On the eve of the holiday, a central meeting was held in Zabrze, at which Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, delivered a speech in which he summed up the work of the coal mining industry in 1962, outlined its tasks for the next few years, and dealt at length with the

present international situation. The highlight of this year's festivities connected with Miners' Day, popularly known as *Barburka*, was the opening of the new coal mine, *Jastrzębie*, in the Rybnik Coal Basin — the tenth such mine opened in the post-war period. Władysław Gomułka attended the opening ceremony.

4 As a result of negotiations between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, a protocol was signed on scientific cooperation and the exchange of scientific workers between the two academies in 1963.

4-8 A delegation of the PUWP, headed by Edward Gierek, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, attended the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Comrade Gierek greeted the Congress on behalf of the PUWP.

6 *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the CC of the PUWP, reported that the Polish tanker fleet now accounts for nearly 100,000 tons deadweight.

6-19 At the invitation of Rodion Malinovsky, Marshal of the Soviet Union and Minister of Defence of the USSR, General Marian

Spychalski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP and Minister of National Defence, together with a group of generals of the Polish Army, paid an official visit to the USSR. The Polish delegation visited a number of military academies and Soviet Army units and also toured the country, visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Yaroslav and other places. The delegation was received by Nikita Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CC of the CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

7-8 The 12th Congress of the Union of Polish Writers was held in Warsaw. The Congress discussed a number of problems pertaining to present-day Polish literature, particularly its relationship to our times, the tasks of literary critics, innovations and experiments in literature as well as problems facing the publishing houses. The Congress elected a new leadership. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz was re-elected as Chairman of the Central Board of the Union of Polish Writers.

10 According to *Trybuna Ludu* a total of over 320 large and medium-sized industrial and transportation projects were handed over for use in 1962, thus markedly

augmenting the production capacity of Poland's economy.

11 A protocol regarding trade between Poland and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1963 was signed in Sofia. Trade between the two countries is to increase by about 35 per cent as compared with the planned targets for 1962 and by about 15 per cent in relation to the Polish-Bulgarian long-term trade agreement.

13-16 The Fourth Congress of the International Federation of Members of the Resistance Movement (FIR) took place in Warsaw. The Congress was attended by 240 delegates from 21 countries, representing 44 organizations affiliated to FIR. The Congress summed up the activity of the organization in the course of the last four years and outlined its future tasks. Premier Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Central Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, greeted the Congress.

14 A session of the General Assembly of the Polish Academy of Sciences, devoted to chemistry, was held in Warsaw. Janusz Groszkowski, an outstanding physicist and one of the creators of the radio-electric sciences, was elected

as the new chairman of the Academy.

14-20 A Polish delegation, headed by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the 17th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and also the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council.

15 Roman Zambrowski, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, received Arnaldo Ferreto, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica who visited Poland.

17-18 The 11th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP was held in Warsaw. It was devoted to a discussion of the main problems pertaining to higher education and scientific research. The Plenum was attended by representatives of the Polish Academy of Sciences, by rectors and professors of universities and colleges, directors of a number of research institutes, and by representatives of institutions and organizations interested in higher education and research. The concluding speech was delivered by Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP. The Plenum adopted a resolution containing an outline of the tasks

in the field of higher education and scientific research.

18 An exhibition, entitled "Lenin in Poland," organized by the PUWP's Institute of Party History, the Lenin Museum in Warsaw and the Central Lenin Museum in Moscow, was opened in Moscow to mark the 50th anniversary of the time when Vladimir Lenin lived on Polish territory. Marian Spychalski, member of the Political Bureau of CC of the PUWP, attended the opening of the exhibition.

● In the desire to promote still closer relations, the governments of the Polish People's Republic and Pakistan have decided to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors.

● The Central Party Control Commission held a plenary session at which an evaluation was made of the work of the local Party Control Commissions.

22 The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic unanimously adopted the resolution on the National Economic Plan and the State Budget for 1963. It also accepted the report of the government regarding the fulfilment of the plan and budget for 1961 and, at the same time, approved the financial activity of the government during that period.

27-29 At the invitation of comrade Nikita Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CC of the CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, comrade N.W. Podgorny, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and comrade D. S. Korotchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Józef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP and Chairman of the Coun-

cil of Ministers, and Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, paid an unofficial visit to Kiev. The Polish guests had talks with the Soviet leaders.

30 On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic, Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State, sent a telegram of congratulations to Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej, Chairman of the Council of State of the Rumanian People's Republic.

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